Supplement to THE PERIODICAL, Autumn 1961

Books from Overseas

INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA

[*A new Princeton book gives the first detailed account of the formulation and execution of British policy towards the Bolshevik revolution. 'Nothing could be further from the truth', Mr. Ullman writes, 'than the picture presented by Soviet historians of a deliberate British effort . . . to stifle the infant Soviet government.'*]

'LOCKHART concluded his memorandum with the following observations:

'1. . . . our intervention is justified on humanitarian grounds, and . . . we should do more by proceeding openly against the Bolsheviks than by trying to suppress them surreptitiously.

'2. . . . for the success of such an intervention American co-operation is essential, and operations should commence at once. . . . If America would agree to send the bulk of the required troops it would be possible to secure the necessary complement of French and British troops voluntarily.

'3. . . . whatsoever Government we support should make immediately some declaration which will promise the land to the peasants—not necessarily as a socialistic measure, but as an economic remedy which is long overdue. Without a clear pronouncement on this subject we shall have the peasants against us.

'4. . . . however difficult it may seem we should proceed cautiously in supporting any one anti-Bolshevik party against another, and in particular, we should beware of a renascence of sentimentalism for the old regime, which is already manifest in some sections of the English press.

'5. No intervention can be really successful unless it is accompanied by large supplies of foodstuffs and manufactured goods for the starving population, and no economic relief can be given without a military occupation.

'6. A successful intervention will give the Allies a predominant economic position in Russia. It will be more than paid for by economic concessions which will in time repay us for some of the sums we have advanced to Russia.

'No other policy can promise the same results, or the same security.

'These, then, were the views of the man who had been more closely in contact with the Soviet regime than any other Allied official. It is easy to dismiss them by pointing out that Lockhart was unrealistic in advocating massive intervention and then basing his whole policy on large-scale American participation. But such quick rejection will not do. Lockhart had, after all, been in Russia during all the critical Anglo-American negotiations and probably did not realise how final was the American

refusal to become involved in large-scale intervention. The importance of Lockhart's memorandum, however, does not lie in its forceful advocacy fo the total destruction of Bolshevism. His memorandum was important because it so clearly warned that the various anti-Bolshevik elements in Russia, even if supported by Allied arms and money, were not strong enough to conquer Bolshevism. The Allies, Lockhart said, were faced with the choice of either coming to terms with the Soviet regime or using their own military forces to destroy it. Half-measures would inevitably fail to achieve their object and would only increase the hostility which the Bolsheviks felt for the bourgeois world.

'Lord Hardinge, the permanent under-secretary at the Foreign Office, marked Lockhart's paper with an "H." when he read it; he had no other comments to make. Lord Robert Cecil found it "very interesting." Balfour scrawled that it was "a very able document whatever one may think of the conclusions". There is no available record of what the War Cabinet thought of the memorandum, but it seems doubtful whether any great notice was taken of it.

'Lockhart remained in London only a few weeks after he had written his memorandum. During that time he frequently saw Milner, and found him as warm and interested as he had always been. He also had an hour's audience with the King, whom he found better informed on the Russian situation than anyone except Milner. The King had, in fact, read nearly every telegram which had passed to and from Russia.

'Before the end of the year, Lockhart went off to Scotland on an indefinite leave of absence at a vice-consul's half pay. After some twelve months of enforced idleness, he became Commercial Secretary to the British Legation in Prague. As he later wrote: "There is no one more quickly neglected than the man on the spot whose policy becomes discredited."[1]

'. . . Lockhart's departure from Russia marked the end of the first phase of Anglo-Soviet relations. Diplomacy had failed; now armed force would seek a different solution.'

[1] Lockhart, *British Agent*, p. 347. For the details of Lockhart's very distinguished subsequent career, see his *Giants Cast Long Shadows*, London, 1960, particularly pp. 58–70, 92–99, and 233–9.

From INTERVENTION AND THE WAR (Vol. I of ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS, 1917–1921). *By* Richard H. Ullman. (PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS.) LONDON: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. (42*s. net.*)

FRIENDS AND FOREFATHERS

[*In the third (and first to be published) of several volumes which will provide a comprehensive account of the development of the varieties of Christian worship in England the years 1690–1850 are covered. The author is Putnam Professor of Religion at Princeton.*]

'It is hard to credit that the Quakers were the heirs of so radical and so profound a reorganization of worship in the spirit as original Quakerism had provided. Yet this original tradition, like Jairus' daughter, was not dead, but sleeping. Its first emphasis was a corrective with positive and negative results. Negatively, it was anti-liturgical, anti-ceremonial, and anti-sacramental. Positively, it was an emphasis on spontaneity and inwardness, a waiting of the gathered souls for God to speak to them through the Holy Spirit. It was a renewed emphasis on the primitive, charismatic element in New Testament Christianity. This stress on the immanence of God in the soul was the recovery also of the experience of the great contemplatives and ascetics of the historic Church. Quakerism was kept from making the transition to utter anarchy and individualistic excess (in short, from inner light to outer darkness) by its Calvinistic inheritance of the sovereignty of God (for it began within the Baptist tradition for Fox and within the Presbyterian-Puritan tradition for Barclay and Penn). The consequence of this belief in the inner light was profound: it meant that all men may come to recognize and respond to God's revelation of love in Christ, and that this experience cannot be restricted to a time or place or a priestly caste, or to certain sacramental actions, or even to the Bible.

'Original Quakerism was also characterized by a rhythm of withdrawal from and return to the world. It begins with the removal of all obstructions, such as the pride, greed, lust, and impatience of men, that may impede the Spirit's coming, and is thus the analogue of the *via negativa* of the mystics. But the purpose of this withdrawal is to return to the world, inspired by the Spirit. It is an ascent to the mountain and moment of Transfiguration, in preparation for the descent into the valley of Humiliation. It is, moreover, not a solitary action, but the activity of the gathered group of Friends. In these two respects it is different from traditional ascetical mysticism. Barclay has words much to the point in this matter: "God hath produced effectually in many that mortification and abstraction from the love and cares of this world who daily are conversing in this world, but inwardly redeemed out of it, both in wedlock and in their lawful employments, which was judged only could be obtained by such as were shut up in cloisters and monasteries." In the third place, this worship does away not only with all external aids to the senses, but even with

words. Silent prayer was thought to be superior to vocal prayer. The reason is to be found in a testimony of Fox to Francis Howgill: "he saw they had no need of words, for they were all sitting down under their Teacher, Jesus Christ."

'It is now possible to see how far the Friends of the eighteenth century had fallen away from their forefathers. Their worship was a withdrawal from the world, without any desire to return into it. They were now embracing the very "cloistered and fugitive virtue" which they existed to combat. The proverb was being reversed: it was a case of *sauter pour mieux reculer*. Their very dress, originally planned as a protest against ostentation, now drew attention to themselves as peculiar people, and caused their children to be nicknamed "Quack! Quack!" by the derision of non-Quaker children. It seems that they now observed outward gestures and peculiar nasal intonations as external proofs of the inward possession of the Spirit. They had become "professors" not "possessors"—to use the very biting distinction which Fox himself had employed to differentiate sincere from formal Christians. Gone was the missionary spirit which attacked the strongholds of formalism, whether in the "steeple-houses" or in the court of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, and which journeyed throughout the three kingdoms and the inhabited parts of the New World. In a word, the prophets of a new age of the Spirit had become inoffensive, bourgeois eccentrics! Revolution and rapture had been succeeded by retirement, innovation by innocuousness.'

From WORSHIP AND THEOLOGY IN ENGLAND: FROM WATTS AND WESLEY TO MAURICE, 1690–1850. *By* Horton Davies. (PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS.) LONDON: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. (42*s. net.*)

HARDY THE POET

[*A new study of Hardy's poetry examines the poet's first principle of universal order, the eternal conflict between irreconcilables, and from it establishes a philosophical and poetic pattern running throughout the work.*]

'THE problem of belief is one which any critic of poetry of the last hundred years must face. English poets from Matthew Arnold to Dylan Thomas have been confronted with essentially the same issue: how to make poetry out of experience which has no invested meaning. Yeats defined the problem in his *Autobiographies* when he described how Huxley and Tyndall deprived him of "the simple-mind religion of my childhood" and how he tried to make a new religion of poetry; the problem for Hardy was the

same, though the solution was different. Eventually Yeats found a new dualism; Hardy tried to make a poetry of monistic materialism. Yeats, because he was Irish and perhaps because he came later in the process, managed to find a new way of imposing symbolic significance upon matter and events; Hardy didn't. This is ironic if we consider that it was Hardy who attempted intellectual respectability, Yeats who went in for fairies and gyres and the ghosts of roses. *A Vision* is a farrago of spiritualism, mysticism, and the occult; Hardy, on the other hand, was in the main line of Victorian rationalism, and it was this rationalism that maimed his imagination and divided his mind. It convinced him that knowledge was available to reason and logic, and that truth was that which is verifiable; it excluded the spiritual, the intuitive, the mystical; and it led him toward systematic thought for which he was unqualified either by natural bent or by training. And in the end it failed him. He needed a metaphysic and he got Herbert Spencer.

'For the reader of Hardy's poetry, it is the failure and not the philosophy that is important, for it provides a key to Hardy's basic poetic nature. Hardy the poet found rationalism inadequate to his artistic needs; imagination, as he told Noyes, does run away with him, and for this we can be thankful. Hampered by a philosophy which he only partly understood and could only partly assimilate, he took, no doubt unconsciously, the poetic course—he reduced philosophy (at least in his best poems) to the folk level of belief, to superstition, to a sense of the impenetrable, contradictory mysteries of existence.

'In a later letter to Noyes, Hardy wrote, "Yes, the whole scheme is incomprehensible, and there I suppose we must leave it—perhaps for the best. Knowledge might be terrible." He is confessing his philosophical failure, but he is also inadvertently suggesting the nature of his poetic greatness. For it is this superstitious sense of terrible knowledge, of the irrational violence in the world which reason could not explain away, that gives Hardy's poetry its peculiar power. As a thinker he wrestled with the disparities and inequities of existence all his life, without ever finding an adequate solution; like Virginia Woolf's Mr. Ramsay, he could not get from *Q* to *R*. His poetry is about the effort, and the failures, not about the answers. It is philosophical insofar as the problems with which he was obsessed might also concern a philosopher, but it does not contain a philosophy.'

From THE PATTERN OF HARDY'S POETRY. *By* Samuel Hynes. (UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS.) LONDON: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. (25*s. net.*)

THE LANGUAGE OF ETHICS

[The Language of Ethics *sets out to show that existing theories of the meaning of ethical sentences are mistaken; and concludes that it is also mistaken to look at ethical language as some separate segment of speech with its own meaning.*]

'. . . any single use of a word involves a wide variety of factors. The study of meaning cannot limit itself to the mental pictures which are assumed to accompany our use of words. Nor can it think of words exclusively as names of properties. Nor can it assume that all words are signs of objects. One cannot even take it for granted that the method of verification is the only relevant feature of a sentence. All of these theories oversimplify the meaning words possess. Actually the meaning of a word includes every feature of the way in which the word is used. The tone of voice, facial expression, or accompanying gesture may be just as important for understanding language as anything else. To grasp the use of a word we must know everything about the situation in which the word is used and how the word functions in that situation. Clearly a great many things enter into the meaning of a word.

'It is this general presupposition that the meaning of any word is its use in the language which obviously suggests the ordinary-language approach to ethics. If words have many different uses, it is likely that ethical words have their own special use. Thus the view that ethical sentences have a meaning all their own is derived from a general conception of the nature of language. It follows that to treat ethical language as a peculiar sort of description or emotive utterance is just a special case of the more general attempt to reduce all words to one preconceived pattern.

'A second presupposition associated with the ordinary-language approach is that the only effective way to analyze the meaning of a word or sentence is to describe its use in detail. If everything involved in the use of a word is included in its meaning, clearly all these things must be contained in any analysis of the word's meaning. We come to understand what a word means by noticing how it is used and then setting down what we have noticed in an orderly fashion. We would notice what kinds of situation the word is used in, what facial expressions and gestures accompany its use, how the hearers react to it, the grammar of the sentences in which it appears, how (or whether) the speaker justifies his use of the word, what other expressions are taken as synonymous, and so on. Obviously any such analysis would be exceedingly detailed and concrete.

'In this respect, among others, the analyses required by the ordinary-

language approach differ from ordinary definitions. To be sure, most dictionary definitions are very brief descriptions of the way in which a word is actually used. As descriptions of use they are similar to the suggested analyses, but it is in their lack of detail that they fall short. As a result, although they provide helpful hints to someone who does not know the language, they are not much help in clarifying the use of a word to someone who is already familiar with it. The philosopher does not need help in learning his language so much as in understanding more fully the language he has learned long ago.'

From THE LANGUAGE OF ETHICS. *By* Carl Wellman. (HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS.) LONDON: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. (35*s. net.*)

THE NURSERY

[*We reproduce a brief extract from one of the poems in Conrad Aiken's* Selected Poems, *an important and rewarding volume from one of America's most distinguished poets.*]

High on the southern wall the clock
tick—tock—tick—tock—
and on the western wall the rain
flashing claws on the window pane
the ceiling white the walls blue
the shawl above you is blue too
here is the place where comes the face
and murmurs mmmmmm—mmmmmm.

The walls are changed and papered well
with peacock and red tulip bell
here is a desk with pen and ink
and here at night you sit and think
of Jesus and the Holy Ghost
the fisherman whose wife was lost
the genii in the bottle, and
Julius Caesar and fairyland
and two plus two and four plus four
and footsteps pause behind the door—

From SELECTED POEMS. *By* Conrad Aiken. (OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, NEW YORK.) LONDON: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. (27*s.* 6*d. net.*)

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